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To banish hail throughout the year the *hradiwnyk* must act on Christmas Eve. He must neither eat nor drink throughout the day, nor must he spit or talk to anyone. Late at night he undresses completely and betakes himself naked to the field. Here he draws various circles with his magic wand and by uttering his formulas, tries to get the hail to appear before him. The hail, naturally enough, does not appear, and this evokes from the conjuror the following address: "As you are not heeding my call now, so may you remain far from us throughout the year!" With this the conjuration for the whole year is accomplished.[71]

How does the weather-man avoid blame for his false predictions and ineffective conjurations, which are necessarily very numerous, and how does he manage to hold the confidence of the people? The answer is obvious: he employs the familiar excuses used by shamans everywhere. After performing his act he asserts that the cloud must disappear and that there will be no hail whatever, or, if for some reason the cloud cannot be dispersed, that he is driving it away to deserted places so that it will hail only there. If, however, his art fails, and someone complains to this effect, then he says that he was unable to do anything because he noticed the impending cloud too late, i.e. when it was over and had already left the limits of his sphere of influence, for, if this occurs, there is nothing one can do to ward off hail in that region.[72] Another stock excuse is that "the weather-man of a neighbouring village, may God punish him, has diverted the hail to our village out of revenge." The people believe this, and so does the conjuror himself.[73]

Mention should be made in this connection of the current belief that natural phenomena have a definite influence upon human health. In some localities, when the people hear thunder for the first time in the spring, they throw themselves on the ground and roll around, even though they may be engaged at the time in important work and the earth be muddy. This behaviour is thought to prevent all sorts of aches and especially stomach disorders.[74] In other places, on similar occasions, the

[71] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253. [72] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 123.
[73] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, i, 55. [74] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

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people seize stones and with them beat their foreheads three times, saying: "Stone-head, stone-head, stone-head." This is supposed to make the head as hard as stone, i.e. immune to any ache.[75]

The evil spirits residing in natural phenomena can be a source of danger unless one takes the necessary precautions. When it thunders and lightens, one should avoid walking along the road, and should sit down somewhere at the side, because God is shooting at the fleeing Devil and his arrows may accidentally kill the wayfarer.[76] One should do the same in the case of a dust storm, for its indwelling Devil is likely to harm a Christian.[77] One can lessen the severity of a blizzard (*metylycia*), and cause it to subside, by throwing sharp edged sticks at the driving snow. Falling hail can also be rendered harmless by catching the first hailstones, chewing them, and spitting them on the ground; "the horns of the evil spirit are then chewed off," and the hail loses its harmfulness in that locality.[78]

Part III

Healing by Magic

Disease, like other calamities, is attributed by the people to evil spirits. It is the incessant activities of a multitude of supernatural beings, the people believe, that cause the many afflictions that befall the human body and soul.[79] Epidemic and fatal diseases are personified as supernatural women. The female personification of the plague, according to a popular story, once made a young peasant carry her on his shoulders. Wherever he went people began to die by the thousands. Finally he attempted to get rid of his dread burden by throwing himself into a river. It was he alone, however, who drowned; the plague, being light

[75] Kolessa, F. "Ludowy wiruwania na pidhirju," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lviw, 1898), v, 77.

[76] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 91. [77] Kolessa, F. *op cit.*, v, 76.

[78] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

[79] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), 160.

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sanctioned by the tradition of generations, he looks upon all medicines prescribed by a physician with a certain suspicion.[83]

Popular remedies fall roughly into three categories: (1) amulets and other prophylactic and precautionary means, (2) incantations, and (3) concoctions, compounded of strange and varied elements from the animal, plant, and mineral worlds. Only in serious, persistent, or complicated cases, or in those ascribed to the direct influence of spirits, e.g. snake-bite, fright,[84] partial paralysis, and stomach disorders,[85] does the peasant consult a professional healer, man or woman: otherwise he uses the standard remedies passed on from generation to generation. Many of the treatments hereinafter to be described, therefore, are often undertaken without the help of a healer.[86]

The healer, who is called *znachor* (fem. *znachorka*) from *znaty* (to know), is not a wizard, nor is he in league with any of the forces of evil. His sole power and function is to combat or counteract ailments by performing conjurations and compounding remedies; he thus plays the role of physician. He is, to be sure, endowed with supernatural powers—he is even referred to as the "earthly god"—but he gets these from God himself.[87] As a matter of fact, the priest and his assistant, it is thought, can sometimes counteract the work of the Devil by ridding a person of his malady. Thus in some sections of the mountains the people commonly seek the aid of the sexton in case of illness. This official inserts a knife between the pages of the church prayer book as many times as are necessary to find the alleged "right place," charging the patient a certain fee for each insertion. He then reads from the book, as if they were written there, the causes and cure of the disease. This practice is said to be slowly becoming obsolete, but it is still not unusual for priests to undertake to cure people by special Masses and prayers and by consecration with holy water.[88]

[83] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-69.

[85] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 239. [86] *Idem.*

[87] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161; Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-08, 4 vols.) iv, 297, 312.

[88] Kaindl, R. F. "Aus der Volksueberlieferung der Bojken," *Globus*, lxxix, 152.

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753 *wroku* ! " (no evil eye !). Failure to take this precaution may result in harm, even though there is not the slightest intention of so doing.[107]

An individual affected by the " evil eye " first loses suddenly his good humour and complacency, and then becomes sick. The result may even be fatal, particularly if he falls asleep before ridding himself of the evil wrought upon him.[108] All successful, good looking, or otherwise fortunately endowed persons or animals are susceptible to the evil eye. Children, in particular, fall
755 an easy prey, for they have no power to resist. To render her child immune from the effects of a harmful glance which may possibly have been cast upon it during the day, a mother never fails to exorcise the evil before putting her child to sleep. This she does by sucking it out of the forehead of the child and spitting it out into the four corners of the room, signifying the four cardinal directions, so that the evil glance, from whatever direction it may have come, shall disappear whence it came. As she does so, she says : " *Chto ti wrik, naj ti wzme* ! " (Whoever sent you take you back !) A similar precaution is followed many times during the day, if the child feels indisposed.[109]

Adults are cured of the evil eye by a multitude of elaborate methods, including that of " extinguishing coals," already mentioned, and others too numerous to specify. The cure is usually undertaken by an otherwise ordinary person, even a member of the family, who is acquainted with a formula effective against the evil eye. Like the weather-man and healer, such an individual never reveals the secret of his art, for if he did, his charms would lose their effect and he himself might even suffer harm.[110]

751 Persons repeatedly subject to the effects of the evil eye are advised to carry constantly with them a piece of laudanum over which a soothsayer has uttered a special conjuration. Other protective devices, also useful for warding off other evil influences, include the *klokiczka*, a piece of wood consecrated together with Easter bread and carried on a string around the neck, a little mercury inserted in a wooden cross, brass rings and crosses, strings of hair or gut, old coins, certain dried herbs, and other

[107] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 132.
[108] *Idem.*
[109] *Idem.*
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

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amulets.[111] If a person takes the precaution of muttering under his breath the following formula: "Cover those eyes as the drawers cover the buttocks!" a suspected evil glance will have no effect.[112] 751

To protect a domestic animal from the consequences of the evil eye, a piece of leather from an old shoe is tied to a ribbon and hung about its neck. Sometimes a strip torn off an old pair of drawers is used instead. Crops are saved from harm by planting sticks in different parts of the field or garden and tying to them a few rags, a torn hat, a broken pot, or the like.[113] A person with the evil eye can injure a cow, even without actually seeing it, if he casts a glance at its milk. Hence the precaution is taken, when a customer comes to buy milk, of not letting him into the cellar or other place where it is kept.[114]

Various methods of misleading the spirit responsible for the disease, or of frightening it away, are believed to be effective. Thus to cure a child of a persistent ailment, for example, its mother is often advised to "sell" it. This she does by giving the child to another woman, who carries it out of the house and then goes to a window and says: "With the child I have greeted the sun, the corners of the house, and all the saints: now I greet the mother and beg her to repurchase the child." The woman then brings the infant into the house, where the drinking ceremony (*mohorycz*) which customarily accompanies a sale, takes place. Sometimes a change in name suffices to bring the child back to health. A witch ordinarily uses the name given at baptism; consequently a child whose name has been changed will not heed her call.[115] To cure a fever, cold water is suddenly poured over the head of the patient while he is asleep; this frightens the fever demon and causes it to run away.[116] Fever may also be shamed into leaving the body. The patient goes into a toilet and sleeps there until his chills pass. The fever, offended, then leaves the body.[117] 755

Exuvial magic is sometimes employed to work cures. A per-

[111] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 93.
[112] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 133.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[114] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233.
[115] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 256.
[116] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 173.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.